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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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R 111635Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4784
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USBERLIN UNN
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 6025

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, GE, FR, WB, UK
SUBJECT: AXEN-GUIRINGUAD MEETING.

REF: PARIS 13724; LONDON 07646

1. FRENCH AMBASAADOR BAYLE MAY 10 PROVIDED US AND BRITISH AMBASSADOR WITH THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT OF MAY 5 MEETING BETWEEN SED POLITBURO MEMBER AXEN AND GUIRINGAUD, WHICH SUPPLEMENTS INFORMATION CONTAINED IN REFTELS. AT SAME TIME, BAYLE HAD NO INFO ON OTHER MEETIGS AXEN HAD IN PARIS.

2. ACCORDING TO BAYLE, BERLIN AS WELL AS FRENCH-GDR RELATIONS WERE DISCUSSED. ON BILATERAL RELATIONS, AXEN EXPRESSED A GDR DESIRE TO EXPAND CONTACTS WITH FRANCE IN ALL FIELDS, NOT ONLY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, WHERE THEY HOPE FOR A "DOUBLING", BUT ALSO THROUGH REGULAR POLITICAL CONSULATATIONS AND THROUGH THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS IN CULTURE, PUBLIC HEALTH,SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY,
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TOURISM, AND SPORTS. AXEN TOOK THE LINE THAT ONE CANNOT EXPECT RELATIONS TO PROGRESS IN ONE FIELD AND BE TOO SLOW IN OTHERS. THIS DEVELOPMENT, ACCORDING TO AXEN, SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETINGS. IN THIS CONNECTION, AXEN REITERATED THE GDR DESIRE TO HAVE THE FRENCH FORIGN MINISTER COME TO BERLIN.

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3. IN REPLY, GUIRINGAUD EXPRESSED A READINESS TO ENCOURAGE ALL EXCHANGES, " ESPICIALLY IN SPORTS". CONCERNING MINISTERIAL VISITS, GUIRINGAUD SAID HE WOULD TALK WITH HIS COLLEAGUES ABOUT THE IDEA. CONERNING HIW OWN POSSIBLE VISIT TO THE GDR, GUIRINGAUD DID NOT MENTION AND SPECIFIC DATES, BUT MAINTINAED HE WOULD KEEP THE POSSIBILITY OF A VISIT IN MIND.

4. AXEN RAISED THE MATTER OF FRENCH-GDR CONSULAR CONVENTION NEGOTIATIONS. ACCORDING TO BAYLE, GUIRINGAUD " DISSIPATED ANY ILLUSION" THAT THE FRENCH WOULD ACCEPT THE GDR'S DEFINITION OF CITIZENSHIP IN ANY CONVENTION. AXEN REPORTEDLY REPEATED STANDARD GDR ARGUMENTS ON A CONSULAR CONVENTION AND NAMED NINE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES WHICH HAD ACCEPED THE GDR NATIONALITY DEFINITIO. AXEN ASSERTED THAT THE FRENCH VIEW ON THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (AS CONTAINED IN ANNEX 23 OF THE LOME CONVENTION) IMPLIED AN EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION O GERMANY, WHICH AXEN REPORTEDLY SAID WAS NOT FOR THIS CENTURY.

5. GUIRINGAUD RESPONDED, STATING THE PROBLEM RAISED BY AXEN WAS PURELY THEORETICAL. GDR NATIONALS GOING TO FRANCE WOULD NOT MEET ANY OBSTACLES FROM THE FRENCH SIDE. IT WAS AGREED THAT FRENCH AND GDR EXPERTS COULD AGAIN BEGIN WORKING ON THE DRAFT OF A CONSULAR CONVENTION, WITH AXEN EXPRESSING THE WISH THAT GUIRINGAUD COULD COME TO BERLIN TO SIGN NOT ONLY A CONSULAR CONVENTION BUT ALSO A CULTURAL AGREEMENT.
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6. ON BERLI, GUIRINGAUD TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO EXPRESS FRENCH "DISQUIET" CAUSED BY GDR MEASURES AIMED AT ASSIMILATING THE EASTERN PART OF BERLIN INTO THE GDR. THE 1971-1972 SITUATION WAS PUT IN ORDER THROUGH THEVARIOUS AGREEMENTS AND WITH THME CAME AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF STABILITY IN EUROPE. GUIRINGAUD WENT ON TO STATE THAT FRANCE WAS NOT TRYING TO IMPOSE ITS THESIS OF BERLIN ON THE GDR, SINCE IT KNEW THE GDR DID NOT SHARE THIS VIEW. AT THE SAME TIME, FRANCE COULD NOT ACCEPT THAT THEGDR WISHED TO IMPOSE ITS VIEW OF BERLIN ON FRANCE. IN CONCLUSION, GUIRINGAUD SAID ANY REPETION OF GDR MEASURES WOULD CAUSE REGRETTABLE TENSION IN FRENCH-GDR RELATIONS.

7. ACCORDING TO BAYLE, AXEN THEN LAUNCHED INTO A LONG EXPLANATION WHICH CONFORMED TO THE EXTREME SOVIET DOCTRINE ON BERLIN. THERE WERE, AXEN SAID, NO ORIGINAL RIGHTS FOR THE ALLIES, AND BERLIN HAD ALWAYS

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BEEN THE CAPITAL OF THE SOVIET ZONE. THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT CONCERNED ONLY WEST BERLIN. IN REPLY, GUIRINGAUD NOTED THAT FRENCH AND GDR LEGAL POSITIONS WERE DIVERGENT, AND THAT EACH SIDE SHOULD DO WHAT IT COULD TO DEVELOP BILATERAL RELATIONS.

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8. IN TAKING UP GUIRINGAUD'S LAST POINT, AXEN REFERRED TO THE CONSULAR CONVENTION AND TO A CULTURAL AGREEMENT (WHICH FRANCE AND THE GDR ARE NOT YET DISCUSSING), BUT, ACCORDING TO BAYLE, DID NOT MENTION THE TEXT OF A SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AGREEMENT WHICH IS READY AND COULD BE SIGNED WITH A FEW MINOR TEXTURAL CHANGES. BAYLE THOUGHT IN THIS REGARD THAT AXEN MAY NOT HAVE BEEN PROPERLY BRIEFED ON THE STATE OFTHE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND CULTURAL AGREEMENTS. BAYLE CONCLUDED BY NOTING HE HAD HAD A BRIEF CONVERSATION WITH AXEN AFTER THE LATTER'S RETURN, WITH AXEN EXPRESSING HOPES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERIAL RELATINS DESPITE THE DIFFERENCE OF THE TWO SYSTEMS. AT THE SAME TIME, AXEN DID NOT MENTION BERLIN TO BAYLE.

9. FOLLOWING BAYLE'S PRESENTATION, THERE WAS ABRIEF DISCUSSION OF RELATIONS WITH THE GDR, AND WHERE AND AT WHAT PACE THE THREE WESTERN ALLIES SHOULD BE GOING FROM HERE. ALL AGREED THAT MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON THE

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OUTCOME OF THE LONDON DISCUSSIONS ON BERLIN AND GERMANY. BRITISH AMBASSADOR CRADDOCK NOTED THAT THE UK HAD SIGNED A HEALTH AGREEMENT WITH AND HAD HAD A JUNIOR MINISTER VISIT THE GDR. IN ADDITION, THE BRITISH AND THE EAST GERMANS HAVE VIRTUALLY COMPLETED NEGOTIATIONS FOR A CULTURAL AGREEMENT, WITH THE GDR AGREEING TO BRITISH WORDING ON REFERENCES TO THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. CRADDOCK DID NOT KNOW WHAT THE WORDING CONSISTED OF, BUT ADDED THAT EAST GERMAN WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE BRITISH VERSION WAS SIGN OF THEIR EAGERNESS TO HAVE AN AGREEMENT. AN EAST GERMAN DELEGATION, HEADED BY MFA CULTURE DIVISION CHIEF MERKEL, WILL VISIT LONDON MAY 16-20 TO WORK OUT FINAL DETAILS AND WILL PROBABLY INITIAL THE AGREEMENT THEN, AD REFERNDUM TO GOVERNMENTS. CRADDOCK SAID THE AGREEMENT WOULD NOT BE SIGNED SOON, BECAUSE IT WOULD BE UNSEEMLY" TO DO SO RIGHT AFTER THE HEALTH AGREE-MENT.

10. AMBASSADOR BAYLE SAID THE FRENCH COULD AGREE TO CONTINUE TO DISCUSS DETAILS OF THE CONSULAR CONVENTION, BUT THEY HAD NO INTEREST IN DISCUSSING A CULTURAL AGREEMENT. HE WAS LESS SPECIFIC ABOUT THEIR INTENTIONS ON THE S&T AGREEMENT. THE MATTER OF A STATE SECRETARY VISIT WAS STILL OPEN, AND BAYLE DOUBTED THAT GUIRINGAUD WOULD VISIT THE GDR THIS YEAR. HE WAS SOMEWHAT AT A LOSS ON HOW PARIS WANTED TO SEE FRENCH-GDR RELATIONS DEVELOP, AND HOPED TO GO TO PARIS SHORTLY TO GET THE LAY OF THE LAND.

11. CHARGE NOTED WE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE AS FAR ALONG IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE GDR AS WITH THE BRITISH OR THE FRENCH. CHARGE MENTIONED MAY 5 SIGNING OF IREX AGREEMENT AND FORTHCOMING GDR ECONOMIC COMMITTEE VISIT TO US FOR PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING BILATERAL COMMITTEE, POINTING OUT THAT BOTH OF THESE WRE PRIVATE ENDEAVORS ON US

SIDE.

12. COMMENT: WHILE NEITHER THE FRENCH NOR BIRITSH HERE HAVE EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR MAJOR UPSURGE IN BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE GDR, THEY ARE AGAINST ANY FREEZING OF RELATIONS -- IN EVENT OF FURTHER GDR

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MEASURES AGAINST BERLIN -- IF THIS IS NOT ACCOMPANIED
BY MOVES AGAINST THE USSR. THEIR POINT IS THAT MOSCOW
IS THE MAIN CULPRIT AND THE ROOT OF THE PROBLME. IF WE
ARE TO MAINTAIN SOME SEMBLANCE OF COHESION IN OUR POLICIES
TOWARD THE GDR, THERE WILL BE NEED FOR CLOSER CONSUL-
TATIONS AND THE LONDON DISCUSSIONS SHOULD HELP
CONSIDERABLY IN THIS CONNECTION.
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